THE Nation

January 20, 1951

PAUL BLANSHARD

The Vatican Versus the Public Schools

I. Italy: No Halfway Measures

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The Commonwealth Divided

BY ANDREW ROTH

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Senator Taft Stands Pat

BY WILLARD SHELTON

JAN 18 1951

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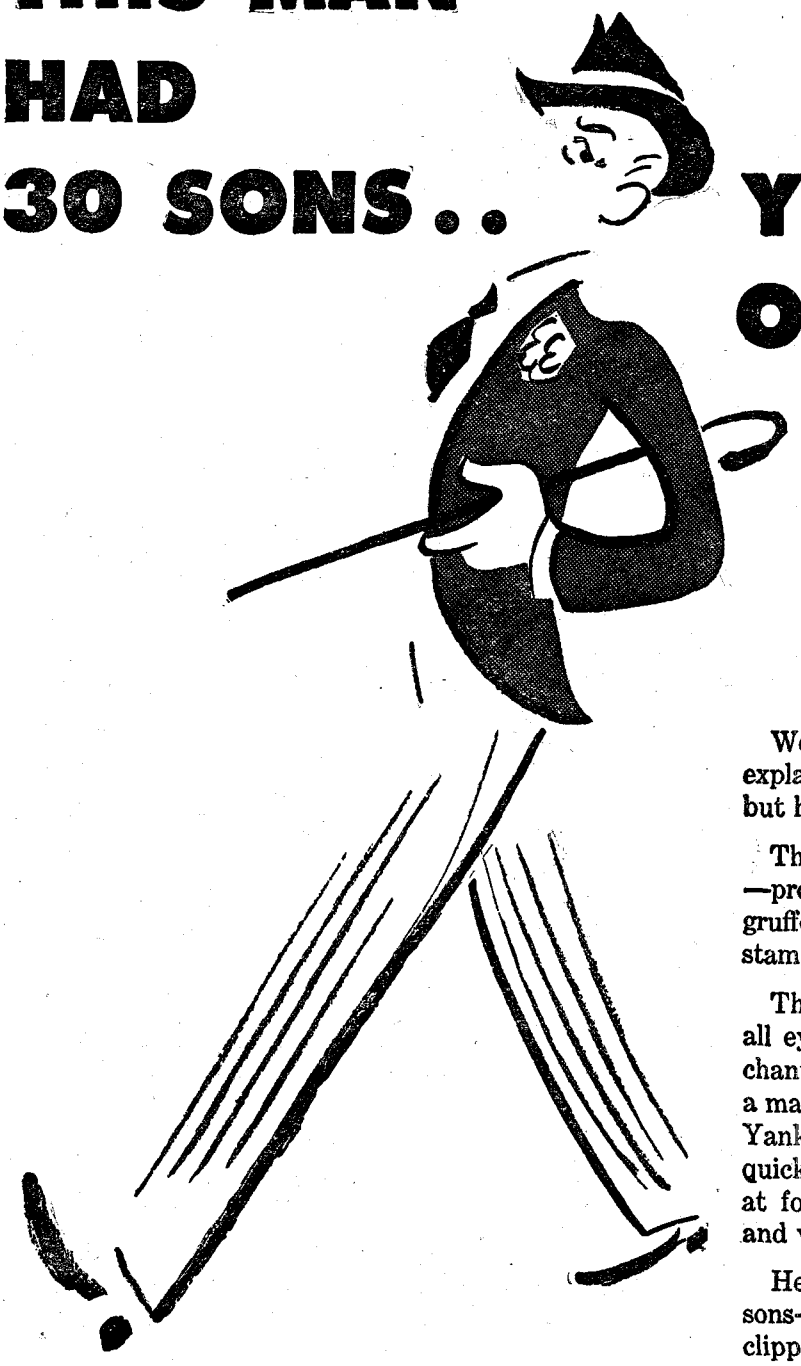
THIS MAN HAD 30 SONS.. YET NOT ONE OF THEM WAS HIS OWN!



We wouldn't want to mislead you, so we'd better explain that not one of them called him "father", but he called each of them "son".

This man was known as The Magnificent Yankee —probably the most charming, disarming, gayest, gruffest, gentlest, toughest old warrior ever to stamp his footprint into the sands of time.

The Magnificent Yankee was all nerve, all verve, all eyes (at the proper time) for the delicate enchantments of the female curve. In other words— a man! And the motion picture, "The Magnificent Yankee", is his portrait—gay, serious, a glorious quicksilver picture of a gent who was a fighter at forty, versatile at sixty, vivacious at seventy and virile at eighty!

He had one wife whom he cherished—and thirty sons—none of them his own. He was proud as a clipper ship, salty as brine, wise as Solomon, mellow as wine, much too big for worry, far too gentle for hate.

Where else but the Nation's Capital, would be the natural habitat of The Magnificent Yankee ...the Washington of two-fisted titans, the Washington of behind-the-scenes strategists, the pompous, the purists, careerists and jurists.

Yes, here is The Magnificent Yankee who could sit with dignity and wisdom as Justice of the highest court and then steal a flower from a public park simply because it was spring and he was in love.

"The Magnificent Yankee" is a magnificent film, far above the ordinary as attested by thousands at Radio City Music Hall and across the nation.

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

IN HIS ECONOMIC REPORT TO CONGRESS THE President remarked: "The resources are on our side. The only question is whether they will be used with speed and determination." Perhaps there is another question too. Will our resources be used with intelligent understanding of the fact that democratic strength is a good deal more than the sum of *x* trained divisions, *y* amounts of military equipment, and *z* units of industrial capacity? And, indeed, Mr. Truman did pose that question when he said that "a strong America must be strong throughout" and, therefore, "should give attention to meeting human needs." In the main, however, he stressed the problems of defense *per se,* and both his report and the annual review of his Council of Economic Advisers, issued simultaneously, effectively documented the massive industrial strength of this country. Even though by the end of this year we shall be devoting nearly 20 per cent of our national income to defense, per capita consumption will probably be as much as 20 per cent greater than in 1940. Such a level, as the council says, can hardly be described as austerity: nor is it possible to sustain the argument, frequently heard, that our contemplated military effort will in a few years "bleed our economy white." It will do so only if all of us seek to maintain our own standards of living, disregarding the fact that we cannot have our cake and eat it too. For the real costs of rearmament cannot be borrowed and loaded on another generation: they are a charge against current output which must be met by diverting part of our economic capacity from the production of "butter" to the production of "guns."

*

THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET MESSAGE DEALT with some of the financial aspects of the job. He listed estimated expenditures for the fiscal year beginning July 1 next at $71,594,000,000, with the military services and international relations, including aid to allies, accounting for $48,882,000,000. Nearly eleven billion dollars is required for veterans programs and interest charges—the cost of previous wars—leaving about twelve billion for all "normal" expenses. On analysis, however, it appears that a large part of the civil budget is actually related to defense. More than one billion dollars, for instance, is allocated to the Atomic Energy Commission, and large sums included under such headings as Finance, Commerce and Industry, and Transport and Communications are for programs necessitated by the defense effort. Even definitely social projects have been reoriented. Thus severely curtailed housing expenditure is partly earmarked for housing in defense areas, and river-basin programs concentrate on power production. Those who insist that defense costs can largely be met by economies in other directions will be hard put to find major items of civil expenditure that can be safely eliminated. Such critics, no doubt, will light on the small remnants of the Fair Deal disclosed by the Budget, which include proposals for federal aid to education linked to the need for literate recruits, a Presidential request for the inception of a medical-care insurance program, and a recommendation for resurrection of the F. E. P. C. to help solve man-power problems. But even if these modest plans are cut down, the total bill will be huge. To meet the estimated budget deficit of $16,500,000,000, this year's tax bill must provide twice the revenue added in 1950. That will mean substantial increases in all major taxes, direct and indirect.

*

THE SOVIET NOTE OF JANUARY 1 CALLING for a conference on Germany has not yet been answered by the Western Powers. The matter of dates this time is of considerable importance. It was on November 3 that the ambassadors of the United States, Great Britain, and France were first called to the Russian Foreign Office and handed a note suggesting four-power talks on Germany. It took the Western nations until December 22 to reply, agreeing to meet if the discussions were broadened to include other vital issues. The Kremlin answered this note in eight days. The reaction to the Russian reply was strikingly different here and in the European capitals. While Washington considered the Soviet answer dilatory and generally devoid of grounds for hope, London and Paris, especially Paris, found it encouragingly precise and more conciliatory in tone than any recent Russian statement. The Soviet note accepted the proposal to extend the discussions to other matters beside Germany, though raising a series of controversial issues. The arguments for a prompt reply from the West are numerous, not least among them being the impetus delay has given

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the movement for unity and neutrality in Germany. Strengthened by the widespread coolness toward rearmament or any policy that might lead to war with Russia, this movement cuts across party lines throughout the Western zone with a particular appeal among teachers, students, and the professional class as a whole. It is gaining so much momentum that Chancellor Adenauer has so far not dared reject the Soviet-inspired invitation from Herr Grotewohl, East German government chief, for a joint conference on unity. Any further delay by the Western powers in answering the Soviet note of January 1, or a wholly negative reaction, would only encourage these tendencies in Germany and leave the Western powers in a weakened position to bargain for an acceptable compromise.

*

"OUR CHIEF MILITARY MAN-POWER PROBLEM now," Anna Rosenberg, Assistant Secretary of Defense, told the Senate Armed Services Committee last week, "is to build up from our present strength of 2,500,000 to 3,200,000 by June 30 and to do it on a basis that will provide an enduring foundation for our future security." Assuming that the requirements of military defense, including our obligations to the United Nations and our allies, do require forces of this magnitude backed by adequate trained reserves—an assumption which unfortunately seems necessary at the present time—the plan for universal military training and service sponsored by the Defense Department appears to be equitable and effective. By making all boys liable to the draft at eighteen it avoids the system advocated by some educators of deferring those of "superior" intelligence until they have finished college, and in many cases permanently: it would be a questionable democracy that gave priority in the firing line to its medium and low I.Q.'s. On the other hand, the Defense Department plan also recognizes the national need for maintaining a supply of trained minds and so provides for up to 75,000 men to be furloughed for college education *after* basic training lasting from four to six months. Those eligible are to be chosen by civilian educational authorities, not by the military, who might give undue emphasis to candidates for scientific degrees. And in the selection process consideration is to be given to general qualities of intellect and leadership rather than to purely academic attainments so as to provide opportunities for outstanding young men who might otherwise be barred. Students thus selected will not be excused from further service: on graduation they will "owe" up to twenty-three months in the regular services, and like all draftees will then be assigned to a reserve unit. In principle these proposals seem likely to be approved, but Senators are still reluctant to draft eighteen-year olds. Before they consent to that step they will require very convincing proof that the services are not wasting man-power.

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THE CHIEF INGREDIENTS OF COLD WAR ARE economic and political pressure and propaganda. Of the first this country has a plentiful supply, though it has not always been widely distributed or successful in its effect. In the second we are notoriously deficient. American attempts to offset Russian psychological warfare through the Voice of America and publications in other countries have been weak and amateurish, as frank critics abroad have frequently reported. The other day the State Department took steps to remedy this situation by calling in a group of outside advisers to discuss ways of stepping up its propaganda campaign. At the same time it was announced that President Truman had launched a scheme to combat Soviet "falsehoods" by compiling a correct, historical record of governmental activities undertaken "to meet the menace of Communist aggression." This latter effort, for some mysterious reason, is to be under the direction of the Budget Bureau. Among the experts who gave their view to the State Department were men of such unquestioned eminence as Reinhold Niebuhr, Henry Steele Commager, and Judge William H. Hastie; so we may hope they went beyond the rather limited official agenda, which was devoted chiefly to the problem of more effectively exposing the policies and danger of communism and of explaining the virtues of democracy to "newcomers to democratic thought and process." These are important technical matters which certainly call for improved handling. But if the experts really tried to discharge the responsibility the world situation laid upon them they must have attempted to make the State Department face the more basic trouble with our program of propaganda and information. That trouble, as they say in the U. N., is "substantive" rather than technical. To make democracy shine in other lands, particularly those in the throes of political change, the United States must alter policies and practices as well as methods. We must rob our critics of the effective weapons they find in repressive legislation, race discrimination, and reactionary policies abroad. We fear there are no experts clever enough to tell the State Department how to put over the democratic significance, for example, of a $62,000,000 loan to fascist Spain.

*

THE DEATH OF MAX WERNER AT ONLY forty-nine years of age was a shock to all who knew him well and appreciated his high qualities as a man and a writer. His loss is the greater at a time when intimidation and confusion have considerably reduced the ranks of those who put loyalty to principles above considerations of success and security. As a military analyst he established his reputation in this country during the critical days of World War II; he was then among the few who insisted that Soviet Russia could not be defeated by Hitler. His death occurred while he was at work on a volume tentatively entitled "A Diplomatic and Military History of World War II," which his publishers, Little, Brown and Company, hope may be near enough completion to be brought out. His long association with the international Socialist movement gave him an insight into war's social and political origins that enabled him to gauge the value of revolutionary conviction as a factor of military strength. Applying this to the Korean struggle, he maintained from the start that the Asian armies must not be underestimated and could not be defeated by traditional military methods. Many of his predictions, challenged at the time they were made, have since been borne out by bitter experience.

*

THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF Northern California has just issued a study of the crisis of academic freedom at the University of California. The report contains an excellent appraisal of the "gains and losses" which have resulted from the action of the Regents in demanding a test-oath of the faculty. The declared purpose of the oath was to eliminate Communist instructors, but not a single Communist has been removed from the faculty. The losses noted are these: a year of "horror and failure" for students, teachers, and administrators; the firing of twenty-six loyal and competent instructors; the dropping of forty or fifty regular courses; the resignation of a number of professors, the refusal of several well-known scholars to accept appointments; condemnation of the Regents' action by the faculties of other universities and by numerous learned societies; a forthcoming investigation by the American Association of University Professors; grave injury to the "non-signers"; and a general loss of confidence in the university as a result of the widespread recognition that "in the long record of higher education in the United States, no offense against freedom and justice has equaled in scope or in ruthlessness the offense now committed at the University of California." Perhaps the graduates, teaching assistants, and young instructors have suffered most. In July, 1950, this group saw 157 of their friends and associates summarily dismissed without a word of effective protest either from the faculty or from the president of the university. "Throughout the controversy," according to the report, "this group had stood steadfast in defense of freedom and integrity. Now, many of them will leave the profession. Many others will go on, but will do so with the cynical realization that persons who serve the State of California in its university are not regarded as free and independent scholars." Although these findings are by no means complete, they should furnish the basis upon which the people of the state can demand an accounting from the Regents for making the University of California "a symbol of unwise and unjust repression of freedom."

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Who Makes War?

IT IS hard for us to take at face value the great constitutional debate now raging on Capitol Hill. The bare factual history of the Korean episode leaves little ground for supposing that Senator Taft and some of his Republican colleagues are genuinely concerned in the present crisis with the historic problem of where the President's right to order troop movements ends and the right of Congress to declare war begins. Certainly there is no occasion for the Senator's reckless assertion that in sending American forces to Korea the President "simply usurped authority—in violation of the laws and the Constitution."

Walter Lippmann takes note, as we did in last week's issue, that Taft himself wholly approved the President's course last June, even though he thought Congress should have been consulted in advance. "A 'usurpation' which the leader of the opposition offers publicly to legalize twenty-four hours later," Mr. Lippmann writes, "is not a heinous offense." But he goes on, strangely enough, to indorse Taft's present attack on the ground that the informal approval by Congress extended only to the use of the sea and air forces originally called for in the President's statement of June 27. Three days later, he argues, Mr. Truman announced the dispatch of "certain supporting ground units," and this completely justifies Taft in "insisting on revivifying the checks and balances of the Constitution."

It seems a pity that Mr. Lippmann did not carry his research a little farther. When the President disclosed his second decision to a bipartisan group of Senators and Representatives, none dissented; nor was a single voice raised on the floor of either house against the move, which, incidentally, was made at the request of Louis Johnson, then Secretary of Defense, and General Douglas MacArthur. Senator Taft's reaction at the time was not as paradoxical as it might sound: "When you are in, you've got to go all out." Senator Wherry, who is now promoting a bill to restrict the President's disposition of troops, was reported by the New York *Times* to have "saluted Mr. Truman for having 'at long last' drawn a line against aggressive communism." And Senator Knowland, another severe critic of the Administration's foreign policy, upheld the legality of the Truman action. "There is no necessity for a declaration of war," Knowland said. "This is more of a police action." Apparently the President's "offense" became "heinous" at exactly the moment when the military reversal set in.

Anyone who has ever opened an American history book knows that the record is replete with such "police actions." There have been literally more than a hundred of them, ranging from Jefferson's expedition against the Barbary pirates to Wilson's use of troops in Archangel. Polk occupied disputed Texas-Mexican border territory, McKinley sent troops to China in the Boxer Rebellion, Theodore Roosevelt forcibly intervened in Panama, Wilson sent forces to Vera Cruz in 1914 and ordered Pershing across the border two years later in pursuit of Pancho Villa; and American marines repeatedly made unwelcome visits to most of the countries of Central America. In almost all these cases ground forces were used without prior Congressional sanction. Senator Douglas made the point last June that in principle this exercise of Presidential power is consistent with the intent of those who framed the Constitution. In the original draft of that document Congress was assigned the power to "make" war, and after some debate the verb was deliberately changed to "declare" so that the President might have the power to use force, in Madison's words, "to repel sudden attacks."

Were Taft the statesman his supporters profess to see in him, he might in fact establish a serious case, not for the malfeasance of Harry Truman, but for the need of a constitutional amendment. For the fact is that the power to declare war has become an empty prerogative. Wars are no longer declared until after the fact. Hitler invariably struck first and declared later. So did the Japanese at Pearl Harbor. So did the Russians in Finland and Poland. And the Chinese in Korea don't declare at all. Thus Congress is, in the nature of the fact, reduced to acting after the event. It is true, furthermore, that the disposition of our armed forces, however defensive the purpose, has become a global matter, with the consequent risks of major conflict vastly greater than we ever incurred by forays in Nicaragua and Santo Domingo. And in spite of the provincialism of some Congressmen, it is also true that in the tight little world of 1951 resistance to an invasion of Korea may well come under the head of "repelling sudden attack."

It is these altered circumstances, plus our commitments to the United Nations, and not the wilfulness of Mr. Truman, that have reduced the role of Congress in the field of foreign relations. If a "revivifying" of our system of checks and balances is really called for, as Mr. Lippmann suggests, it can properly be achieved only by amending the Constitution in the light of historical changes. Certainly it cannot be forced by vengeful attacks on the President or by withholding funds for specific actions—not, at any rate, without sacrificing our capacity for leadership in the world and inviting political chaos at home.

Coming soon in The Nation

Sinclair Lewis: An Appreciation

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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Beginning of the End?

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Lake Success, January 13

TO MEASURE the length of the road traveled this week in the United Nations toward the discovery of a solution to the tormenting problem of Korea, one has only to remember where the Political Committee stood on Monday and where it finished on Saturday. The week opened with the announcement by the chief American delegate, Warren Austin, that since Peking had twice rejected a cease-fire, the only conclusion to draw was that it did not want one, and consequently the United Nations should take the next logical step and formally charge Communist China with aggression. After that further measures could be considered—withdrawal of recognition by members having diplomatic relations with Mao, possibly even the imposition of sanctions if enough delegates could be induced to go so far. On Saturday, with the approval of fifty nations, including the United States, a five-point program was adopted calling for a cease-fire and including the bold proposal for a conference to deal with all Far Eastern problems which would bring to the same table representatives of Peking and of Washington. The other major participants would be Soviet Russia and Great Britain, and the latter opposes America on many Asian issues, as the recent Commonwealth Conference in London has confirmed.

Some people were inclined to minimize the importance of this sequence of events, assuming that progress made at Lake Success would inevitably be nullified in Moscow, but many observers regarded today's vote as definitely opening the way to negotiation.

The atmosphere of the week's debate was as interesting as the conclusions to which it led. It faithfully reflected developments in London, where the Commonwealth Prime Ministers were hammering out decisions of capital importance. More sharply than on any previous occasion since the start of the Korean war, the London conference revealed the cleavage between the United States and its major associates on the various problems relating to peace or war in Asia. In the final communiqué one could easily discern the hand of Nehru, but the fact that Mr. Bevin had chosen the conference as the occasion for his most explicit rejection of America's China policy was not the least important aspect of the Commonwealth gathering.

In consonance with the tone adopted by his chief, Sir Gladwyn Jebb, in the Political Committee, emphasized the idea that a cease-fire in Korea should be followed "immediately" by negotiations among the four powers chiefly concerned, covering not only Korea but all the other vital issues in the Far East. This move alone in effect brought Communist China to the conference table; it remained only for Mao to accept the procedure laid down in the Israeli resolution to become the official voice of China in the United Nations. The first person on the committee who realized what the resolution implied was naturally the representative of Chiang Kai-shek, and this explained the tenacity with which he opposed the cease-fire group's proposal, incorporated in the Israeli resolution, and the bitterness of his final words today, when he denounced the decision as a betrayal of China, Korea, and the Charter of the United Nations.

The fact that it was Mr. Pearson, Canada's Minister for External Affairs, rather than Sir Benegal N. Rau, chairman of the cease-fire group, who introduced and defended the plan ultimately adopted, proved the reality of the division in the "American majority." It was no longer the "confused and unrealistic" Indians, or the Scandinavians, frightened by the presence of Russia on their very borders, but the closest and most natural ally of the United States in the entire Atlantic coalition who recommended a course almost diametrically opposed to that previously demanded by Mr. Austin. In the face of this development, the United States would have been poorly compensated by the support of such diehards as Dr. Tsiang and General Romulo, even backed by eighteen Latin American votes, plus Greece and a few other minor followers. Realizing the situation, Mr. Austin chose to accept the unavoidable, expressing his "feeling of gratification" at the agreement achieved by the cease-fire group and announcing that he would support the Israeli resolution.

Of course there were delegates who, in response to the able appeal of Mr. Eban, voted for the proposal with tongue in cheek, counting upon a refusal from Peking which would open the way to a declaration of aggression. Their eyes and ears were therefore directed toward Mr. Malik, and the moment the Soviet delegate characterized the Israeli resolution as "nebulous" and "indefinite" Señor Santa Cruz of Chile seized upon the Soviet reaction as conclusive evidence that Peking would reject the entire plan. That view was strengthened when the Soviet bloc, instead of abstaining, as rumor during the morning session suggested it would, voted against the resolution. But a more incisive analysis of the attitude of Mr. Malik during the entire debate leads, in my opinion, to a different possible conclusion. To begin with, Soviet opposition to the Israeli resolution lacked that aggressive quality which characterizes the Russian delegation's attack when it really intends to kill a measure. Even at the moment of voting, instead of concentrating on the substance of the proposal Mr. Malik stressed the procedural point, insisted upon by Russia from the beginning, that Communist China and North Korea had been excluded from the body making the decision. Of course nobody

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can predict at this moment what Peking's reactions will be. It may say yes or no or, more likely, present counter-proposals. In the latter case a period of negotiation will open which will mark the beginning of the end, at least in Korea, even if many difficulties have to be overcome.

Taft Stands Pat

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, January 12

A DRUMFIRE of speeches in the Senate yesterday made it clear that the Great Debate on foreign policy, provoked by Herbert Hoover and then practically taken over in a burst of non-stop oratory by Senator Robert Alphonso Taft, will soon fizzle out. Taft lacks support in his own party, and no serious doubt can exist that Congress will continue to support the Atlantic Pact while retaining normal control of financial appropriations. But it has been almost impossible for the last few days to attend a press conference or twist a radio dial without hearing Taft expound his views on tactical air power and the defense of the Malay Peninsula, the future of the United Nations, or our proper attitude toward Europe or Chiang Kai-shek. Sometimes the flood of words is bewildering—Taft seems to be arguing with himself. However, there is really nothing puzzling about his position. He remains the same isolationist with respect to Western Europe that he has always been, the same narrow, though inaccurate, legalist regarding the powers of the Presidency, and the same skilful, unscrupulous politican, ignoring unpleasant facts and piling up statements to suit his purposes.

To understand Taft one must realize that in all the years he has been a national political figure he has never gained a sense of fulfilment. Twice he has sought the Republican nomination for the Presidency, and twice it has been snatched from him. In 1940, moreover, the snatching was done by a rank outsider, Wendell Willkie. Twice in his home state, running for the United States Senate, he was barely elected. In 1950, however, after a vigorous campaign which was largely an attack on the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, he won by a comfortable margin. Now he feels his oats and is obviously proud of his "Mr. Republican" nickname.

As I said, it is a little difficult to discover from Taft's verbiage precisely what he advocates in foreign policy. But let us not be naive; he is opposed, fundamentally, to the defense of Western Europe with American divisions. This has always been the Taft view. The record shows that while the Axis was defeating France and putting Britain under siege in 1940, Taft was adamant against any American aid to the Western powers. He voted against the 1940 draft to build up our own army and against the extension of the draft in 1941, only a few months before Pearl Harbor. He voted against the release of surplus American war stocks to Britain and France, against repeal or revision of the Neutrality Act, against Lend-Lease. He tried to block the seizure of Axis ships in our harbors and their transfer to Britain, and he supported a resolution, which was beaten, restricting Roosevelt's use of American forces to the Western Hemisphere.

In 1951 Taft says he is "not opposed" to the shipment of arms to Europe, but in 1949 he voted against the Atlantic Pact for the specific reason that the treaty and the shipment of arms were "inextricably linked." If we sent arms to Europe, he said then, we might goad Russia into war; now he says that sending troops might goad Russia into war. Step by step he retreats from positions that are no longer defensible, but his program continues to add up to the expendability of Europe.

The powers of the President as commander-in-chief of the armed forces, which Taft denied, are discussed in an editorial on a preceding page. But a footnote may be added. Before the Senate ratified the Atlantic Pact in 1949, it debated the question of advance authorization for use of our troops abroad. A reservation offered by Senator Watkins would have absolved the United States of any obligation to employ its forces until Congress had approved the action. Taft voted for the reservation, but the Senate turned it down by the overwhelming vote of eighty-four to eleven. A somewhat comparable provision had been turned down in 1946 during debate on the bill implementing our adherence to the United Nations. One cannot charitably assume that so practical a debater and so stubborn a tactician as Taft has forgotten these incidents.

With fantastic distortion Taft charges that Administration plans are sent to Congress merely for a yes or no vote and are not adequately discussed. But the Marshall Plan, for example, was proposed in a speech on June 5, 1947, and debated on the rostrum, in newspapers, and in Congress for ten months before an authorization bill was passed. The Atlantic Pact, drafted and ratified in 1949, was preceded by the Vandenberg resolution of 1948, through which, after full debate, the Senate called for "continuous and efficient self-help and mutual aid" from nations formed in a regional group to promote American security. The U. N. Charter of 1945 was preceded by extensive debate on the 1943 Ball-Burton-Hatch-Hill resolution, expressing the Senate's desire for this country's adherence to a new international organization, and by passage of the Connally resolution embodying that concept.

When Taft argues that Republicans have not been consulted on foreign policy, he means that he has not been consulted. When he complains about insufficient

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debate, it is because the outcome has not suited him. But a way has been open to Taft to get personal "advance consultation" on foreign policy. He could long ago have had a place on the Committee on Foreign Relations or on the Armed Services Committee, where he would have had access to a continual flow of information and secret intelligence. He rejected both these posts but still complains; he even thinks that the Republicans on these committees, who are constantly consulted, should echo his protests.

Without military experience or the background knowledge that service on these committees would have given him, he urges use of sea and air power to hold a "bastion," demands the "release" of Chiang Kai-shek's forces to create a "diversion" in South China, and confesses he is not sure that Formosa and Japan can be held against Soviet submarines and mines. With no confidence in the United Nations or the Atlantic Pact, he cries for development of a twentieth-century American counterpart of the British Empire, not realizing, apparently, that the British Empire's sea power depended on the control of bases around the world. While he conjures up the vision of an American empire, safe behind its undefined "bastions," he shrinks from measures to secure the vital industrial and land bases of Western Europe and leaves our allies to face the grim prospect that if they are occupied again we will liberate them by bombing their cities.

Presumably Taft has not identified his reelection in Ohio last November with his election to the Presidency next year, but even some of his fellow-Republicans are beginning to wonder "upon what meat doth this our Caesar feed." There has not been such a spectacle in Washington, in my opinion, since the late Senator Borah in 1939 blandly told Roosevelt, Secretary Hull, and the public that all our sources of diplomatic information were faulty, that he (Borah) had superior private sources of information, and that these sources made him feel sure that Hitler would not start a general war.

Redirecting Farm Policy

BY THEODORE W. SCHULTZ

AT THE end of the last war the opportunity to overhaul farm-price supports and other farm programs was missed. Recent developments may provide another chance. A great deal of work has been put into policy statements for agriculture since the middle forties. Useful and competent reports have been issued by the Colmar and Hope Congressional committees, the land-grant colleges, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and the Committee for Economic Development. But it is always a difficult task to integrate politics and economics in national policy, and the agricultural field is no exception.

The stage is now set for a new attempt. The rise in consumer expenditures, the strong price situation, and above all the importance of adding to our man-power in industry make the present a propitious moment for increasing the efficiency of agriculture. At least three and possibly five million persons can be added to the labor force in industry during the next three years by helping some of the underemployed in agriculture to get jobs and find a place to live. This adjustment would do much to correct the low-productivity and low-income problem that plagues many parts of American agriculture —a problem virtually by-passed by successive farm programs since the recent vast improvement of our economy as a whole.

Before suggesting the economic possibilities and choices open to us with regard to agriculture in the existing circumstances I will briefly outline those circumstances. I take it to be highly improbable that this country will enjoy in the near future the privilege of real peace founded on stable power relations among nations. It may therefore be assumed that reasons of national security will require large commitments of men and materials to the armed forces. This situation has a critical bearing on how we manage our economy.

In mobilizing our military power we cannot afford to freeze the economy because this would slowly but surely undermine its great strength. Although our economy is already highly developed and technically advanced, it is exceedingly dynamic in absorbing new capital, improved techniques and skills, and a growing population. It is not only expanding but undergoing in the process profound structural changes, which are necessary adjustments if our productive plant is to remain efficient. If the American economy were essen-

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tially stationary or if the present emergency were to be of short duration, we could manage by freezing the existing patterns of prices and wages. But such action is inconsistent with growth, and growth is imperative if we are to maintain the economic foundations of our political power.

Agriculture, like the rest of the economy, must remain dynamic. While it has become a relatively declining sector of the American economy, much depends upon its capacity to adopt new techniques and to use more capital and less human effort. Agriculture made truly remarkable forward strides in improving its efficiency in the past decade, but anyone who knows how uneven the development has been is aware that we have a long way to go. Many farmers still use poor and obsolete equipment, have altogether too little land, and use much more labor than would be necessary if enough capital were available and modern techniques were employed.

SUPPOSE now that the international political situation remains unsettled for years, that expenditures for the armed services increase for several years before they level off, or are reduced, and that for the most part indirect controls—monetary and fiscal measures—are used in the over-all management of the economy: under these circumstances it is extremely probable that (1) "availability" of man-power will become the primary limiting factor in altering and expanding production; and (2) product and factor prices will in general rise as a consequence of the inflationary pressure.

If these developments occur, the problem facing farms that are reasonably efficient will be different from that facing inefficient farms. Efficient farms will have to maintain their efficiency in a rapidly changing economy—prices spiraling, labor becoming short, inflationary pressures increasing. It will be no small undertaking, and its importance should not be minimized, for our agricultural output comes very largely from these farms. In weighing the possibilities, the main considerations, as I see them, are as follows:

Most farmers in this group have improved their financial balance-sheets very substantially during the past decade. They are not subject to nearly as strict capital rationing as they were in the thirties. Most of them have the financial assets to improve their farming operations and thus to keep their farms efficient. A strong price situation will give them additional income and financial flexibility to adjust to changing factor and product prices and to adopt new techniques. Acreage allotments and marketing quotas are not only unnecessary but cause waste and inefficiency. They have become a major liability. The corn and wheat acreage allotments announced for 1951 fortunately have been revoked. National farm programs, in general, were developed to help farmers under the depressed conditions that existed in the thirties. Since those conditions no longer prevail, the programs are obsolete and have become a major hindrance to bringing about the kind of farming now required.

A difficulty will be created if price ceilings are set on farm products to "protect" consumers. Such controls would act to suppress an aspect of the inflation, but they would make farm-product prices much less efficient as indicators telling farmers what and how much to produce. To avert this difficulty, it is exceedingly important to strengthen fiscal and monetary controls.

Let me now turn to the inefficient farm. I shall not try to describe or identify these farms except to say that there are many of them in the Appalachian highlands and the Piedmont, the northern parts of the Lake states, the lower central parts of the inter-mountain region, and the cutover areas of the Northwest. In most of these areas it would be very difficult to make the farms efficient. Little was accomplished during the forties despite full employment and marked improvements in most parts of the economy. The problem has long been neglected by students of agriculture, by organized research, by the extension services, and by Department of Agriculture administrative agencies. Data and studies are lacking, there are few educational programs, and our farm programs, except for the ill-fated Farm Security Administration, have not been designed to do this job.

Here, again, the main considerations can be set forth briefly. Much will depend upon our time-table. It would not be too hard gradually to bring about more efficient farming in these communities, provided the will to do so existed. However, given the unstable world situation and the importance of increasing the strength of the economy for purposes of national security, it becomes urgent to get rid of this waste of resources, especially of man-power, as rapidly as is consistent with the preservation of democratic values and our social and political institutions.

The farmers in this group do not have the necessary financial resources to enlarge their farms or to buy, borrow, or rent the equipment needed for an efficient farm. Even in the prosperous forties their income did not allow them to save enough to acquire the needed capital. Their scale of operations is seriously limited by capital rationing.

The labor market functions badly in relating the labor force in agriculture, and in rural communities, to the rest of the economy. As a result underemployment is widespread. If three million individuals, say, during the next three years could be induced to leave these farms and communities to take up non-farm jobs, the total output of agriculture would not necessarily be

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reduced—on the contrary, it would probably be increased—and this added labor force in industry would raise the national income by some six billion dollars.

Those who are willing to leave agriculture should be furnished employment information, loans and grants to help them move, training programs to prepare them for new jobs, and housing facilities in the new locations. Those who wish to stay and to organize efficient farms should be furnished educational and technical assistance, *a land-purchase program designed to help farmers in this group buy additional land to give them an economic-size farm*, and credit to acquire the other necessary resources.

The problem of wide fluctuations in the flow of farmers' income will remain. I do not believe that our economy can be kept on so even a keel as to eliminate fairly large changes in aggregate demand. But it is a mistake to hold that a major depression of the kind we experienced in the early thirties is inevitable and may occur soon. Nor are the more efficient farmers in as weak a financial position as they were then.

If a major depression does occur—which seems very unlikely during mobilization—producing five million or more unemployed and a marked drop in consumer expenditures, it will be necessary to provide some income safeguards for agriculture. Agricultural production, however, should go forward unmolested. Acreage restrictions and marketing quotas are not the solution; the markets of farm products should be left free to clear forthcoming supplies; farm prices should not be maintained in order to "protect" the income positions of farmers. Instead, there should be income payments to farmers which will not clog market channels at home or hinder sales and shipments abroad.

The national emergency provides the United States with a new, big chance to overhaul its obsolete farm policy. It will also perhaps provide the public compulsion needed to bring about the long overdue redirection.

The Commonwealth Divided

BY ANDREW ROTH

London, January 12

THE demand for a Big Four conference on Pacific problems which took form unexpectedly in London was the result of the combined influence of two London meetings. The first was an announced but closed meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers whose content was revealed only through a distorted official briefing of the press and unofficial leaks. The other was a crowded open meeting of peace-minded, non-Communist Britons. Both meetings expressed the West's sense of frustration at being thrust by America toward the bottomless pit of war with Communist China without doing anything effective to prevent it. Both urged that an effort be made to draw back from this abyss before it was too late.

Although it was generally ignored by the British press, the public gathering epitomized the virtual unanimity in Britain against war with China. Lord Stangate was chairman, and the speakers were Norman Bower, Conservative M. P.; Ritchie Calder, science editor of the liberal *News-Chronicle*; Reginald Sorenson and Michael Foot, Labor M. P.'s; and Kingsley Martin, editor of the *New Statesman and Nation*. The audience packed Kingsway Hall and held an overflow meeting outside, despite a minimum of advertising. In order to keep the movement as broad as possible and exclude Communists, the speakers took the deliberately naive line that the British government has always said the right thing and only requires popular pressure to do it. There was complete agreement that Formosa should be returned to China and that the Peking government should be admitted to the U. N. Mr. Bower underlined the need to escape from the vicious circle in which China is becoming increasingly implacable because it is outlawed and is outlawed because it is so implacable. Although the speakers were strongly anti-MacArthur, they insisted that they were not anti-American. Mr. Bower favored an alliance with the United States but not on the basis of "lord and satellites." Kingsley Martin emphasized the fact that Britons merely oppose the views of irresponsible rightist Americans. He paid tribute to the submerged American liberals and particularly to Freda Kirchwey, editor of *The Nation*, as one of the bravest women in the United States. Violent applause greeted his insistence that the United States must be told of Britain's refusal to follow the lead of militarists.

MR. ATTLEE'S talents as a conciliator have been severely tested in the Commonwealth conference. His difficulties were enhanced by the fact that he had little to offer and much to ask. Britain was able to

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relinquish Marshall Plan aid largely because the "overseas sterling area"—the sterling dominions represented at the conference plus Malaya and West Africa—lent Britain, in effect, about £375,000,000 in 1950. This was the amount in hard currencies earned for the sterling pool less the value of manufactured goods and services obtained from Britain.

In 1951 Britain will be less able to satisfy the dominions' import demands than it was in 1950. Last year even the 9 per cent increase in British productivity was unable to keep pace with the increased export earnings of the dominions and colonies. In the coming year British productivity, already hit by the raw-materials shortage, will show less improvement and will be increasingly diverted to war purposes. The Commonwealth countries will therefore be asked to accept from Britain the consumers' goods it can produce in surplus instead of the machines they want. Under these conditions the projected aid to underdeveloped South Asia envisaged in the Colombo Plan* will be reduced by Britain's need for aid from the rest of the Commonwealth.

The *Economist* has already suggested that the dominions foot at least part of the bill for Britain's rearmament effort, preferably in the form of grants. This may be feasible for Australia and New Zealand, which are comparatively prosperous, have close ethnic ties with Britain, and have shown an interest in standardizing all Commonwealth arms on British models—which would demand a considerable increase in British production. But any attempt to impose additional burdens on the archaic, overstrained economies of India and Pakistan might prove disastrous.

Liaqat Ali Khan's dramatic hesitation about coming to the conference spotlighted the weakness in the Commonwealth structure caused by the breach between India and Pakistan over Kashmir and other issues. As the Pakistan Prime Minister cabled Mr. Attlee, his country has been spending 78 per cent of its income to provide what it considers necessary military security against India and Afghanistan. This makes pipe dreams of the plans of British strategists to have Moslem Pakistan take over British military commitments in the Moslem Middle East. India cannot afford the mere half of its budget allotted to defense, since strained relations with Pakistan require it to finance much greater food purchases from abroad for its famine-threatened people.

An even more important structural weakness emerged in the first days of the conference. While the rest of the Commonwealth is being pulled into the American camp, India is refusing to follow. Australia and New Zealand, under Conservative governments, have moved willingly in the direction in which America is urging them. Britain, with more reluctance but under stronger economic compulsion, has seemed to be following suit.

In closed sessions of the conference Pandit Nehru is reported to have lashed out against the whole American policy toward Communist China as unrealistic and unnecessarily provocative. He did not dispute that China might, technically, be considered an aggressor. He admitted that China was a full-blown ally of the U. S. S. R. but denied that it was a "satellite." He emphasized above all that the emergence of a unified and powerful China under Communist leadership represents a revolution in the world's affairs that cannot be suppressed by force any more than the American, French, or Russian revolutions could be; any country which attempted to intervene in China might be bogged down for decades or even centuries. He insisted that one of the important preconditions for ending Peking's military action was the discussion of all its outstanding grievances, including Formosa and the U. N. seat.

NEHRU also distinguished himself from his colleagues by suggesting that the U. S. S. R. had no aggressive intentions for the immediate future. He recommended that the Commonwealth take the initiative for peace instead of accepting the inevitability of war. The diversion of sums now spent on armaments to purposes of social betterment would be, he declared, a constructive method of limiting Communist expansion.

The warmest defense of American policy came from Messrs. Holland and Menzies, the New Zealand and Australian Prime Ministers. While they looked askance at the more extreme examples of MacArthurism, they warned that the non-Communist world must not give the impression that it is divided. One of them even suggested that the Commonwealth conference send a representative to Washington as a gesture of non-Communist unity. Both these dominions are moving more rapidly into the American fold than the increase in American investments and their dependence on the American fleet would seem to warrant.

Britain has up to now put most weight on the foot it has in the American camp, while keeping at least a toe in Nehru's peace-with-China camp. But during the past week it has been shoved hard toward Nehru's position by the crushing economic burden of even the current limited war. The automobile industry, Britain's main exporter, has curtailed its work week for want of steel plate. Behind closed doors Bevin has talked with increasing emphasis about his six-point peace program. Finally the conference decided to ask Washington whether it would consent to a four-power conference on Korea, Formosa, and a seat for Communist China in the U. N., provided China agreed to a cease-fire. One query and a favorable reply do not make a peace settlement, but Britons—who are bomb-wise but not bomb-happy—cannot help hoping.

* Described by Keith Hutchison in *The Nation* of December 9 and 23.

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The Vatican vs. the Public Schools

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

I. Italy: No Halfway Measures

THE battle between the Soviet Union and Western democracy is so spectacular that it has tended to obscure another mighty struggle which is dividing Europe—the struggle between the Vatican and public education. In Eastern Europe the Vatican has already lost the school battle to the Kremlin. In the West, Socialists and liberals are fighting desperately to prevent domination of their cultures by the Vatican. The struggle has reached an acute stage in Belgium, France, and the Netherlands. Even in Italy and Spain recent encroachments of Catholic power upon public education have made school policy the second most important political question, the first being communism.

The strategy used by the Vatican against the public schools is not alike in all countries. Its aggressiveness depends on many local factors. Grouping the most important countries according to the degree of their conformity to Catholic educational policy, one may make the following generalizations: In Spain, Portugal, and Italy there are no neutral public schools in the American sense. The government schools teach the Catholic faith to the exclusion of any other. In the Netherlands and Great Britain the government schools do not teach the Catholic faith, but the taxpayers pay the primary costs of a separate Catholic school system. The hierarchy directs its people to attend the Catholic schools only, attacks the public schools as godless, and conducts a running campaign for more complete financial support from the public treasury for its own establishments. In the United States and France the public schools are neutral on matters of religion and the church maintains its own separate school system at its own expense. In the Soviet Union the government schools are hostile to the Catholic faith and the church is not permitted to maintain a competing school system.

In all these countries Catholic educational dogma remains the same. According to Vatican theory, the church and not the state has the primary right to educate. The state owes the church support in its educational enterprise and must not attempt to supersede the church. The school, Pius XI declared in his standard encyclical on Catholic education, "owes its existence to the initiative of the family and the church, long before it was undertaken by the state." Pius XI elaborated on this point in his 1929 letter to Cardinal Gasparri: "Logic further requires that it be recognized that the full and perfect mission to teach does not belong to the State but to the Church, and that the State may not prevent or interfere with her in the exercise and fulfilment of that mission, not even to the extent of restricting the teaching of the Church exclusively to the teaching of religious truths." If the state should undertake to make Catholic children attend public schools only, the children would have an obligation, as Cardinal Gibbons pointed out, to "resist to the uttermost."

It should be remembered that this basic educational dogma of the Vatican was not formulated and is not necessarily approved by the Catholic population of any country, and that they should not be held responsible for it. Educational doctrine and educational strategy are both made in Rome and imposed upon Catholics throughout the world without any pretense of democratic process. Even Cardinal Spellman had no authority to soften the Vatican policy on education, as he appeared to do by issuing an ambiguous and conciliatory statement at the conclusion of his bitter controversy with Eleanor Roosevelt.

Catholic canon law and the Catholic catechism are fearfully explicit on the duty of Catholics to oppose the public school. It is a mortal sin for Catholic parents to send their children to public schools over the opposition of their priests, and the bishops are authorized to suspend the rule only in exceptional circumstances. The latest American Catholic catechism says on page 198: "The Church forbids parents to send their children to non-Catholic or secular schools in which the Catholic religion is not taught unless the bishop of the diocese grants permission because of particular circumstances." The standard book on Catholic canon law (Bouscaren and Ellis) makes it perfectly clear (page 707) that under a ruling of the Holy Office, which it quotes, Catholic parents "cannot be absolved in the Sacrament of Penance" if they are "contumacious" and send their children to a public school "without sufficient reason." Under Canon 2319, Section 2, young Catholic couples may be excommunicated if they make an agreement when they are married to have any of their children educated in a public school.

How does this philosophy of education work in the Vatican's home country? The struggle between

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THE CATHOLIC LAW AGAINST THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

Canon 1374. Pueri catholici schola acatholicas, neutras, mixtas, quae nempe etiam acatholicis patent, ne frequentent. Solius autem Ordinarii loci est decenere, ad normam instructionum Sedis Apostolicae, in quibus adhibitis cautelis, ut periculum perversionis vitetur, tolerari possit ut eae scholae celebrentur.

Catholic children must not attend non-Catholic, neutral, or mixed schools, that is, such as are also open to non-Catholics. It is for the bishop of the place alone to decide, according to the instructions of the Apostolic See, in what circumstances and with what precautions attendance at such schools may be tolerated, without danger of perversion to the pupils.

Canon 2319. Subsunt excommunicationi latae sententiae Ordinario reservate catholici: . . . Qui matromonio uniuntur cum pacto explicit o vel implicito ut omnis vel aliqua proles educetur extra catholicam Ecclesiam.

Catholics are subject to excommunication, incurred automatically and reserved to the local bishop, who, when they are married, make a specific or implied agreement to educate all or any of their children outside the Catholic church.

Vatican and public school is less intense in Italy than in other countries because Catholicism is an organic part of public education. Italy has almost no neutral schools. Even in the period between 1870 and 1929, when the Kingdom of Italy and the Papal States had no diplomatic relations, Italian children received instruction in Catholicism in some public schools. Article 36 of the concordat signed by Mussolini and Pius XI in 1929 provided that the Italian elementary and middle schools should give religious education "according to the form received by Catholic tradition." All non-Catholic religious education was excluded.

TODAY Catholic indoctrination is compulsory in the public schools, the concordat with the Vatican having been incorporated in the constitution by reference. The priests who teach religion in the public schools receive a salary from the government. Nominally parents who so desire may have their children excused from religious classes, but the machinery of exemption is not administered impartially. The segregation of the non-Catholic child often exposes him to real hardship and discrimination. The religious class may be scheduled for the middle of the morning, and the dissenting child may have no place to go while the priest occupies the classroom. Moreover, the Italian public school attempts to teach Catholicism in many non-religious classes, and anti-clerical parents know that no child can entirely escape it. In practice, even Communist parents seldom ask for exemption.

The extent to which the church dominates education is far greater than this bare recital of facts would indicate. The position of the priest in the school makes him the moral mentor of the community. The Minister of Education in the present Christian Democratic government is Guido Gonella, former editor of the Vatican newspaper *Osservatore Romano*, fanatical member of Catholic Action, and secretary general of the Christian Democratic Party. To parallel this situation in the United States one would have to imagine Cardinal Spellman, with Cabinet rank, dominating our entire educational structure. Discrimination against critics of Catholicism permeates the Italian educational system from the central office in Rome down to the tiniest village in Calabria. In his public utterances Gonella treats culture and Catholicism as Siamese twins.

I have just run through ten textbooks used in the Italian elementary public schools. In them I noted 143 pictures that would be branded as Catholic propaganda if they were introduced in an American schoolbook and 185 pages of religious text that was essentially Catholic in character. Italian schoolbooks are not like American ones: religion, history, arithmetic, and science are all in the same book. Usually religion comes first, and no child with any curiosity could escape it, even if he did not attend the courses in religion. A standard book used in the fifth grade, "Il Tuo Sapere," devotes the first 57 pages to Catholicism, the next 109 pages to history and geography, the next 123 to arithmetic, and the last 63 to natural science. The religious text material includes specific instruction concerning the Mass, prayers for the dead, and the like, and gives no hint that any other religion has a right to exist. Catholic instruction begins in the nursery school and goes through to high

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school, and every classroom in the system is supplied with a crucifix.

Religious material is sandwiched in between other material in the secular part of each textbook. (The religious part must bear the imprimatur of both the local bishop and the Ministry of Education, and the book as a whole must, in practice, receive church approval.) In a standard fourth-grade textbook the introductory thirty-two pages of the history section are devoted chiefly to the lives of medieval saints. Standard readers used in the first and second grades are sprinkled with pictures of angels and devils, with accompanying moral conclusions. In one history Italy's great victory over the papal armies on September 20, 1870, by which Rome was conquered, is mentioned without naming the defeated foe. This omission is consistent with the attitude of the present Christian Democratic regime toward the Vatican. The regime, in fact, has recently eliminated September 20 as a national holiday.

THE Vatican is not content with its privileged position in Italy's public schools. With the help of its powerful propaganda organization, Catholic Action, it is fighting for public funds for its own competing school system, and the resultant division between Communists, Socialists, and liberals on the one side and devout Catholics on the other is threatening to parallel the cleavage in France. Gonella, although pledged by virtue of his office to support the public schools, is backing the church's drive.

The liberals thought that the issue of public money for Vatican schools was settled when the present constitution was written, for at that time the effort of the pro-Vatican forces to write in a clause specifically authorizing such grants was defeated in the proportion of six to five. But the clause adopted was ambiguous: it gave private organizations the right to establish schools "without burdens for the state" but did not absolutely prohibit state grants. Gonella and the pro-Vatican forces are now insisting that there is nothing in the law of the republic to prevent "the state from spontaneously helping the private schools." They are advocating an "educational assistance" plan which would permit the siphoning of public funds to Catholic schools by a system of compensation for "needy" parents for the tuition they pay to such schools. The arguments for this plan are familiar to Americans: Catholic parents are lightening the burden of other taxpayers by supporting their own schools; so why should not the government give help to those who need it?

The Vatican's new emphasis upon its private school system has netted immediate results. Catholic schools have increased prodigiously during the past five years, and today the pupils in the public schools outnumber those in the private (nearly all Catholic) schools only in the ratio of ten to three. The number of students in the recognized private middle schools, corresponding to our sixth, seventh, and eighth grades, is almost seven times as large as in 1937.

Why should the Vatican try to build its own school system when it already firmly controls the teaching of religion and morals in government schools? The answer seems to be twofold. First, the hierarchy fears a defeat of the present Christian Democratic government by a left-wing, anti-clerical coalition. Second, since its schools are an organic part of the church, some part of the government subsidy could be legally diverted to general church purposes—the salaries of nuns could be used for construction, and so forth. (This is the policy used in the Netherlands.) The political fears of the Vatican are not wholly unjustified. The Catholic party has a majority in the Chamber of Deputies but did not poll an over-all majority in the 1948 election, and much of its present strength is based on temporary, anti-Communist panic. If the fear of Communist revolution should be lifted, Italian anti-clericalism might reassert itself with some success.

Piero Calamandrei, one of the few great cultural leaders left in the Chamber of Deputies, charged at the last convention of the Association for the Defense of the National Schools that the present Vatican-dominated regime is weakening public education in three ways—by starving the public schools, by permitting the private schools to employ substandard teachers, and by diverting public funds to private schools under the guise of welfare and relief. There seems to be no doubt that his indictment is just. Catholic schools operate with almost no inspection, and the unevenness of their standards is beginning to undermine the standards of public education. Salaries of teachers in both public and church schools are at a starvation level: a typical elementary public-school teacher begins at about $12 a week and may earn $25 a week after twenty years of service and the acquisition of four children. There are 40,000 unemployed elementary-school teachers in Italy and 20,000 to 25,000 unemployed high-school teachers, largely because the nation has too few classrooms and a wretchedly negligent enforcement of the laws concerning compulsory education.

In many districts in the south, such as Calabria, Sicily, Campania, and Puglia, more than 75 per cent of the children drop out of school before the fifth grade, in spite of a law on the statute books which nominally compels them to go to school for eight years. In the whole nation almost one-fifth of the children of school age are not in school. It is true that the government is building schools rapidly with E. C. A. help, but it will take thirty years at the present rate of construction to supply classrooms for the children of school age now living in Italy—and their number is increasing at an alarming rate.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Scope and Cost of Containment

POLICY FOR THE WEST. By Barbara Ward. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.75.

THE cornerstone of the argument in this lucid, persuasive, and urgent book is the conviction that a modus vivendi with Russia is impossible except by submission. This is neatly bedded on the foundation stones of what happened to Poland, Eastern Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, and to non-Russian Socialist and Communist collaborators like Ehrlich, Alter, Benes, Masaryk, Petkov, Kostov, Tito, and Rajk whose "submission to Moscow was insufficiently total." "The aim [of Russia] is always total intervention and total control." But historically "general war is not the Soviet strategy," and therefore the correct response is containment in a spirit "sustained, calm, and supremely positive." Finland and Yugoslavia have been practicing it, and even though the West's front line in Europe and its other real or potential positions of strength seem like "ridiculous appendages" to the land mass of Russian-dominated Eurasia, the examples of Iran, Greece, Turkey, and Berlin seem to show that a united West can operate containment successfully. Germany, however, could be another Korea. East of Suez, although the situation has been perhaps more dangerous than in Europe on economic, nationalistic, and ethnic grounds, chaos and famine have been prevented; the United States has kept Japan on its feet and carried through a land reform; the United States, Australia, and Great Britain have sustained several parts of Southeast Asia; and Holland and Britain have helped to set up Indonesia, Burma, Pakistan, India, and Ceylon, the last three of which have voluntarily associated themselves with the British Commonwealth. Even new and heady Asiatic nationalism has not cast out internationalism.

But rearmament, readiness for total mobilization, and rehabilitation are not enough. Western society must improve itself, for since its pretensions are very great, its failures are very dangerous. The Marshall Plan was "the most momentous act of statesmanship in the modern world," but it must be followed by economic and social planning in terms of a generation or more and of all that that involves in the relation between the costs of containment and social and economic stability. "The West must capture the initiative or risk defeat." At this point the author dons her mantle as assistant editor of the *Economist* and plunges into the manifold intricate problems of the business cycle, full employment, inflation, deflation, production, consumption, international trade and investment, and the dollar deficit. She emphasizes consumption in developed countries and investment in underdeveloped ones. An avowed Keynesian, that is, an economic interventionist, and an acceptor of economies partly public and partly private in their enterprises, she moves sturdily on through the manifold precariousnesses of the world economy to demand its planning on a global scale. She then reverts to the politics of unity, relying a great deal on federalism and calling attention to the now almost habitual international action under the United Nations, the Marshall Plan, and the Atlantic Pact. She concludes with an appeal to the Western faith that men and policies determine events against the Russian faith that history itself does the work—particularly if given a helping hand by those who have mastered the laws of historical necessity. "The Western world is a world of freedom, and in it the Western powers can freely choose and freely act."

Within its terms the book is a brilliant performance, and not because difficulties are eclipsed by grand simplifications. The skeptical reader may have to wait a while for his criticisms to be anticipated and met, but they nearly always are. Even in Parts II and III, the body of the book, where the intricacies of international politico-economics are pursued step by step from the national and regional to the global, the unresolved obstacles are singled out with honest insistence and self-critical shrewdness—for instance, the awe-inspiring effects on the world of even slight recession in the United States; the difficult contradictory elements in the relations of Great Britain to continental Europe, to the Commonwealth and Empire, and to the United States; or the insolubility of the dollar gap. A great deal of the argument rests on the moral and political as well as the economic content of the Marshall Plan and related American policy, and on the political content of Mr. Acheson's success in using the U. N. Assembly as a by-pass round the road block in the Council. In short, this is a very bold, venturesome body of proposals by an author who is better informed about the barriers to its aims than most readers are likely to be, who proclaims them, and who provides good reasons for believing that they can be surmounted.

This promises to be a much-discussed and influential book. Its basic premise may be debated, as it was at length in the recent anniversary number of *The Nation*. Beyond that, difference may be taken chiefly in a number of specific details and in the matter of emphasis. Thus, while the whole book can be read as an attack on neutralism and isolationism, the former phenomenon as it has been manifested recently in France, Britain, and Germany in its relation to atomic warfare receives less specific attention than it seems to deserve. Again, while the infectious passion and visionary qualities of expansive communism and its paradoxical disregard of economics are briefly and vividly illustrated, its successful political technology deserves much closer attention. In fact, although the pervasive emphasis of the book is upon freedom, it does not grapple with the greatest problem that has been dropped in our laps by the progressive industrialization and secularization of the last two centuries—the relation between freedom and authority in the modern state or in a collection of states. In 1936, at the end of a life devoted to historical and philosophical studies, Elie Halévy, a great liberal, concluded tragically that we had entered upon the Era of Tyrannies. At the

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moment Russia and its satellites are grimly and successfully underlining his conclusion. Miss Ward's book eloquently and ably argues an opposing case but leaves it to someone else to tell how the degree of authority and unity that she judges necessary is to be reconciled to democracy and to the ordinary man's need to feel that in some area or areas his ideas and wishes can be meshed into the management of the world's affairs.

J. B. BREBNER

Frogs and People in Nazi Germany

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF HELL. By Eugen Kogon. Translated from the German by Heinz Norden. Farrar, Straus and Company. $4.

EUGEN KOGON'S unique and monumental sociological study of the Nazi concentration camps, first published in Munich in 1946 as "Der S. S. Staat," now appears belatedly in English in a revised and enlarged edition as "The Theory and Practice of Hell." Kogon, a devout Catholic and early anti-Nazi, was arrested in 1938 when Hitler marched into Austria, spent seven years in concentration camps, and several times narrowly escaped death.

What distinguishes the Kogon book from most of the vast literature on this theme is that the author was not tempted to exploit the macabre and the abnormal. With exquisite precision he documents both the so-called "normal" routine of daily life in the concentration camps and its ever-present horrors. He recreates from an enormous accumulation of always pertinent details a rounded story of the European tragedy. His account, magnificently controlled and dispassionate in the presentation of fact, achieves a devastating impact.

The chapter titles of his book indicate the scope of his investigation: The Categories of Prisoners, The Physical Setup of the Camps, Daily Routine, Working Conditions, Statistics of Mortality, Sanitation and Health, Reprisals Against the Jews, Reprisals Against Other "Inferior" Races.

This book is primarily a study of the men who built and controlled the "S. S. Staat" and not an investigation of the leaders of the Nazi regime. However, the author's treatment of such men as Himmler, Heydrich, and others, whose roles in the Nazi hierachy, it appears, have been grossly underrated, adds to our understanding of the forces unleashed on Europe. The reader will also gain from Kogon's account the first really comprehensive picture of the minor hirelings of the "S. S. Staat," who were equally perverse and sadistic.

In a book in which every fact and event strains our credulity, we are yet shocked, for example, by the case of Master-Sergeant Sommer, who would "force the stripped prisoner to immerse his testicles in ice cold and boiling water, painting them with iodine when the skin came off in strips." And who "applied an iron clamp to his victim's temples, screwing it shut until the skull was crushed." Pastor Schneider, who was brought to Buchenwald in 1937, "refused to take off his cap before the Nazi emblem . . . was thrown into the bunker," and "finally murdered, having suffered indescribable agonies." Kogon reports that in 1943, when the Nazi regime had suffered military defeats, Nazi commandants at Buchenwald received an order of which the implications were clear: "All Jews in Europe to be shipped to Koch in Lublin."

One may observe that the sadism and perversion which Kogon describes were often reported to be surpassed by Commandant Koch and his wife Ilse, and the author dispels any illusions, if they still exist, about the Kochs' guilt. Kogon omits nothing and spares no one. While he testifies to the superhuman heroism and endurance of the victims, he also reveals that in some instances prisoners systematically demoralized and debased by the Nazis and driven by the instinct for survival became the collaborators of their masters. But they rarely escaped the fate of the betrayed. Often they too were sent to the crematoriums; sometimes their fellow-prisoners plotted secretly to end their ignominious careers.

While on the whole the author confines his aim to a comprehensive study of the Nazi concentration-camp system, he incidentally contributes to our perception of the entire Nazi phenomenon. In a sense this book complements such studies as the recently published "Rehearsal for Destruction" by Paul Massing, which explores the historical roots of Nazism. The crimes of the Nazi élite, Kogon writes, "were carried out with truly German thoroughness . . . their motives were not simply sadistic in character. They were in keeping with a certain universal German predilection to justify the most abysmal barbarism by recourse to certain 'idealistic' principles." And by citing an instance when "tens of thousands of victims . . . were gassed and tortured in so many camps during the very time that music was in the air," he enables us to grasp, to some degree, the peculiar schizoid German character, which David Rousset suggested so ironically in "The Other Kingdom" with "There exists a decree by Göring protecting frogs."

This book supplies evidence which would appear to counter the pleas that the German people surrendered to Nazism solely because of economic or historical factors. These arguments do not explain why Germany, faced with problems similar to those of other nations, chose thus to resolve its dilemma. One wonders if this split in the German character had not already been foreshadowed by Goethe's Faust, who despaired, "Two souls, alas, dwell in my breast together . . .".

It is pertinent to observe that the first

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edition of "Der S. S. Staat" sold 35,000 copies in Germany in 1946, 100,000 in 1947, and only 5,000 in 1949. While a certain decline in the sale of any book is to be expected, one is nevertheless inclined to wonder to what extent the sharp decrease in the sale of so comprehensive and monumental a study of a problem that is still vital and immediate is related to the state of mind of Germany today.

ELIEZER GREENBERG

The Art of Soutine

SOUTINE. By Monroe Wheeler. The Museum of Modern Art. $3.95.

THIS catalogue for the retrospective exhibition of Chaim Soutine (1894-1943), current at the Museum of Modernt Art, contains seventy-five illustrations, including ten rather too shiny color plates, and an urbanely written essay by Monroe Wheeler. The essay covers very thoroughly Soutine's life and his development as a painter. Wheeler's estimates of the pictures rightly emphasize color and brushwork as basic elements in the violent expressiveness of Soutine's art. As if to compensate for the rigors of formal analysis, Wheeler occasionally goes overboard in literary apotheosis. On such occasions he falls prey to what we might call the pathetic fallacy in art criticism. The violent theme in all its rawness, or the noisy use of the medium as such (Soutine's reds would dim the blood on Dr. Gross's hands in Eakins's great picture of the clinic)—these are expressionism's favorite traps for critics. But Soutine is too fine an artist to set them—in their context his reds are not raw but resonant—and Wheeler is too fine a critic to spring them, very often.

Many of Soutine's best pictures are highly personal transformations of motives in other artists' works. In addition to the several allusions to Courbet and Rembrandt, Wheeler might have mentioned Chardin (Ray-Fish), Goya (Plucked Fowl, very naked), and Corot (Chartres Cathedral).

In Maternity can we be sure that the child lies back in the mother's lap "in defeat and exhaustion"? Is not the child dead—"as though on a field of battle," to use Wheeler's own words? Soutine painted it in France during the occupation. Wishing to check my impression with the original painting, I was disappointed to learn that this picture, as well as several other crucial ones in the same private French collection, were unfortunately withdrawn from the exhibition after the catalogue went to press. But dead or alive, the child—and the mother too—conveys Soutine's highly charged sentiment. They betray, however, no hint of the sentimentality with which Edvard Munch interpreted such themes. If we may define sentimentality in art as emotion derived through association and not recreated by visual means, then between Soutine and Munch, both good painters, we have the difference between the painter of sentiment and the sentimental painter.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

The Failure of Gentility

THE YEAR OF THE OATH. By George R. Stewart, with the Collaboration of Other Professors of the University of California. Doubleday and Company. $2.

AS FAR along as June, 1950, the authors of "The Year of the Oath" felt justified in concluding their manuscript thus:

> . . . if you wish to be in the forefront of the struggle for Academic Freedom, if you wish to be where much may have to be risked and much may perhaps be gained, then—if you can also accept the terms of our present contract—we call to your attention, not without pride, the still strong and distinguished faculty of the University of California.

Yet less than four months later the game was up: on the eve of a state election the legislature passed and Governor Earl Warren eagerly approved an act requiring all state employees to take a loyalty oath. Thus, in the end, the faculty was betrayed by its former "friends": Governor Warren, who had opposed the regents' oath, certainly looked with favor on, if he did not actually inspire, the Levering act, which now imposes a test oath on all state employees, including members of the faculty of the University of California. The non-signers, of course, still have their lawsuit; a movement for repeal of the Levering act is shaping up; but these, at best are fragile and elusive "straws." The basic question remains: How could a group of trained and seasoned scholars have so grossly misjudged a situation which was crystal-clear to so many others?

The answer appears to lie in the same frame of reference that has permitted twelve obscurantist regents of the University of California to bamboozle, intimidate, and, it now appears, indenture their 3,700 teaching employees. Faith and good-will as ultimate ordnance in the struggle of men to consolidate or to maintain their liberties come to seem impotent and feckless as one follows the chronicle of the loyalty-oath battle offered by Stewart and his collaborators. Dignity, honor, integrity, fair play—all were expendable in the putsch by California reaction to extend the area of its insecure power.

The focus of this effort to present and clarify a complex situation to a confused, misinformed, and fact-starved "non-professional" public is upon the controversy as it has concerned the regents and the academic senate. The authors define and generally equate "academic freedom" and "tenure." They discuss the implications, to the student and the whole community, of restrictions upon either of these. They review, in cogent detail, traditional academic responsibilities and privileges and tenure procedures. They formulate, in eight arguments, the real issues involved. And they submit a valuable calendar of the loyalty-oath history from its inception in January, 1949, through the regents-faculty "compromise" of April 21, 1950.

Then there are the results: the teaching assistant at Berkeley and the pianist in the women's gymnasium at U. C. L. A. dismissed with questionable procedure as the only "Communists" that a stateful of zealous patriots could flush out of the chaparral; professional men and women worn, strained, harassed, and immobilized as effective teachers and researchers; departments vitiated in morale and crippled by resignations and blacklistings.

The well-supported analysis of the relationship of state politics—and in particular of the Associated Farmers—to the loyalty-oath fight and the rather cursory but illuminating histories of earlier A. A. U. P. blacklistings and of fascism in European universities seem more pertinent than the human-interest stuff. The analysis of the big-capital domination in the board of regents is much more to the point than the ration-

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alistic and neo-Kantian shreds and patches toward the end of the book. For it was never a question, at the University of California, of being right; it was a question of being effective.

And here, essentially, is the weakness of "The Year of the Oath" and, correlatively, of all but a handful of men and women on the University of California faculties. Moral posture, balanced judgment, logical analysis, democratic imperatives, reason—these are only openings for the Philistine strategy. Until teachers in danger are willing and able to fight together in groups to retain or extend the privileges of the individualism they have inherited from other men's fighting, they will suffer both the burden of having to live with their uneasy rationales and the consequences of a failure to recognize that their relationship to the society which they should be leading is one of oblique evasion.

. . . pessimism, however, seems hardly to be warranted . . . it assumes a certain diabolical quality, an intense drive for power, on the part of a majority of the regents, and there is little reason to believe that such a state of mind exists.

The fault lay not so much in the prognosis as in the diagnosis by mystique.

ROBERT WULIGER

Memories of Riley

JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY AS I KNEW HIM. By Minnie Belle Mitchell. The Old Swimmin' Hole Press, Greenfield, Indiana. $3.50.

THE name of James Whitcomb Riley is still a magic passport into the state of Indiana, land of the green fields and running brooks described by Riley's poems of his own childhood and the childhood of a land, a people. But Indiana is greatly changed since the days when Riley, the Homer of Griggsby Station, was writing his exuberant poems to describe the romantic village which preceded Edgar Lee Masters's Spoon River or Sherwood Anderson's Winesburg, Ohio, hypothetical places which have more in common with their idyllic early ancestor than is commonly supposed.

Riley's types, such as Little Orphant Annie or the Raggedy Man who have entered so much into American myth, were part of a living, coarse-fibered mythology he knew with intimacy and conservatively recorded not as usual figures but as the deviates, the eccentrics, the persons who did not quite conform in an age of non-conformity. Riley was always, even in the old village, looking for an older village which had all but passed away, for his was the enthusiasm of a resurrectionist, an archaeologist, and he saw that the volcanic lava of time would cover over his Greenfield, Indiana, and that horse-and-buggy age. He was always seeking out the disparaged and neglected characters of his time and place, such as the drunken idiot poet in whose babblings, though others might dismiss them as unconventional, he found not only the seeds of his own art but something which should pave the way toward a new realism growing out of the old romance. When he was writing of the barefoot boy in Indiana, Theodore Dreiser was still a barefoot boy there, one who, in the true Riley manner, was carrying home his mother's wash along a bleak and lonely railroad track. Riley's sewing-machine girl is the great-aunt of Theodore Dreiser's Sister Carrie.

Mrs. Mitchell's book is a rare and delicate embodiment of her many memories of Riley's life and times—one which should be an invaluable item for collectors of Americana, recreating the past in tiniest detail, telling those small, fugitive matters which are usually dismissed by more ambitious historians and biographers.

MARGUERITE YOUNG

Economic Theory Revisited

A RECONSTRUCTION OF ECONOMICS. By Kenneth Boulding. John Wiley and Sons. $4.50.

THE author has much to say that is constructive and original in modifying economic theory at a number of points. Readers untutored in the intricacies of the theories examined, however, had best look elsewhere for a picture of the defects of economics today. On the other hand, those who have plodded through some study in the field and are able to handle rather complex graphic notation will find the book most rewarding. Incidentally, they would do well to scan first the author's preface—an illuminating two-page summary.

Boulding seeks to rework many of the theories of price and employment. In textbooks, it appears, the firm "is a strange bloodless creature without a balance-sheet," and this has led to embarrassing problems. For example, business enterprises are supposed to maximize net revenues. Yet in markets occupied by relatively few, giant firms, their behavior often seems inconsistent with any such attempt. Boulding's new "balance-sheet" approach may offer a key.

Even more difficult to handle with traditional tools is the behavior of organisms like the trade union. For instance, there is little evidence that unions seek to maximize a total wage bill. Such considerations as size of membership, time since the last wage increase, wage rates compared with those in other industries are apparently more important in the formulation of wage policy. Again, the author suggests that emphasizing the union's assets and liabilities may provide a more realistic basis for explaining its demands.

The "most original and most controversial" chapter, attempts to answer the crucial question: what determines the relative share of national income going to interest, rent, profits, wages? Ricardo and Marx are held inadequate in this area. In any case, Boulding would deny the prime importance of wage bargaining. He sees decisions of households and firms on investment, consumption, finance, and liquidity ulti-

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mately determining the portions of national income going to workers, business men, and other sections of the population. HARVEY LEVIN

Books in Brief

THE LETTERS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND JANE MECOM. Edited, with an Introduction, by Carl Van Doren. Princeton University Press. $5. Letters exchanged by Franklin and his favorite sister between 1727 and 1790. Jane gives the impression of having been an insufferably dull woman—at least on paper; and Franklin's replies are correspondingly prosy and domestic. There are occasional passages of interest, but for the most part the letters deal with the minutiae of family affairs.

ONCE MORE THE THUNDERER. By Henry Beetle Hough. Washburn. $3.50. Stories and anecdotes of life in a New England town by the editor of the *Vineyard Gazette* of Edgartown on Martha's Vineyard. A mildly pleasant second helping by the author of "Country Editor."

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

THE fourth production in the A. N. T. A. series is a play by the Spanish poet Federico García Lorca, "The House of Bernarda Alba" (ANTA Theater). The play is described in the printed version as "a drama about women in the villages of Spain," and as in other plays of Lorca's the weight and the fateful aspect of folk experience are consciously invoked both as a frame of reference and as silent commentary on the particular drama which is being unfolded.

The particular drama here is the conflict of the wills and passions of six women—a mother and her five daughters; and it illustrates the other, and saving, feature of Lorca's preoccupation with folk experience. While his characters are in a sense folk characters and their "destiny" is in a sense foreknown, they are individuals as well and their destinies are convincing in terms of their individuality.

Thus Bernarda Alba, the mother, is not only the product and the preserver of tradition, family and social, especially as it concerns women. She is also a powerful and power-seeking individual who has dominated her husband and upon his death condemns her daughters to eight years of mourning—and eight years of incarceration in a manless house. Each of the daughters is likewise individualized, though some, to be sure, are more vividly realized than others. And, similarly, the servant-companion Poncia is at once a type and a clearly delineated person in her own right.

Bernarda has forbidden her daughters' marriage with the men in the village. Her excuse is that her fellow-villagers are inferior in status, but it becomes clear that her real motivation is a desire to dominate. For various special reasons, and under the prodding of Poncia, Bernarda does consent to the marriage of the oldest daughter, Angustias, to one Pepe el Romano, in spite of his low status. This break looses the avalanche. Preparations for a wedding are coals of fire on the heads of the other daughters, and the tension becomes intolerable. Pepe, who is marrying Angustias for her money, really wants the youngest and prettiest of the daughters, Adela. He accomplishes her seduction, and Adela resolves to escape into life even if it must be a life of shame. The crippled sister, Martirio, also in love with Pepe, betrays Adela to her mother. Bernarda drives Pepe away and Adela hangs herself. The mother's main concern is that the world believe that Adela has died a virgin—"Tell them, so that at dawn, the bells will ring twice"—and at the end she once more decrees incarceration for the others.

"The writer states," says a note in the printed version, "that these three acts are intended as a photographic document." They are more like prints of engravings come to life, engravings of women in black moving against white walls. The setting of the A. N. T. A. production is appropriate, and the Spanish effect is achieved, particularly at those moments when the brilliant outdoor light flashes into the dead white precincts of Bernarda's house.

Katina Paxinou has the authentic face, figure, and presence for the part of Bernarda, and her performance sustains the illusion throughout. I thought Ruth Saville's interpretation of Poncia was faulty, particularly in the first scene, where Poncia's earthiness and broadness of expression appear as mere vulgar looseness devoid of dignity. Ruth Ford as the crippled girl, Martirio, and Kim Stanley as Adela have the richest parts among the sisters and play them very well.

"The House of Bernarda Alba" is an interesting play and an excellent choice for a repertory theater. (Since I have said harsh things about A. N. T. A.'s previous choices, this statement is in order.) It is the work of a highly gifted writer little known here whose plays are hardly likely to be produced in the ordinary commercial course of events. I must say, however, that it seems to me to have less to say to a non-Spanish audience than, for instance, Lorca's "Blood Wedding." Despite its universal elements of character and event, its primary interest lies in its portrayal of the lives of women in the villages of Spain. It is, in other words, essentially a period piece. The way of life which is the context of "Blood Wedding" is likewise remote; but it is also primitive and therefore broader in its significance and appeal. What is far more important, while the present play is written in prose, "Blood Wedding" is cast in poetry—and it is Lorca's poetry that embodies not only his best work but his universal quality.

CONTRIBUTORS

J. B. BREBNER is the author of "North Atlantic Triangle: The Interplay of Canada, the United States, and Britain" and other books.

ELIEZER GREENBERG is coeditor of the Yiddish literary quarterly *Getseltn.*

S. LANE FAISON, JR., on leave as chairman of the Art Department of Williams College, recently left for Germany to become director of the central art-collecting point at Munich.

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MARGUERITE YOUNG is the author of "Angel in the Forest: A Fairy Tale of Two Utopias" and other books.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

WITH everyone around falling on his knees before God's word embodied in the Landowska recording of Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier, I can only report concerning the second group of eight Preludes and Fugues on an RCA Victor LP record, as I did concerning the first, that the works themselves, though composed by Bach, include a large number of dull pieces of music along with a few engaging Preludes and things as fine as Fugue No. 10, Prelude and Fugue No. 16, and the beautiful Prelude and magnificent Fugue No. 12; and that all—including some which call for lightness and grace—are relentlessly pounded out on the harpsichord with occasional emphatic distentions of tempo that are not accounted for by what is happening in the music.

Mozart's powerful Fantasia K.475 and Sonata K.457 are played by Firkusny on a Columbia LP and by Leonid Hambro on an Allegro (81). The sharp inflection and cohesive outlining of phrase with continuing impetus in the succession of notes that one hears in Hambro's performance is completely lacking in Firkusny's; and this difference is to be heard also in Hambro's performance of the engaging Sonata K.311 and Firkusny's of the Fantasia K.396 on the same records. However, the Fantasia K.475 should have more spaciousness and grandeur than Hambro gives it; and there are questionable tempos and other details. Also, the surface of the Allegro record is not quiet; there are some thumps and buzzes; and treble must be reduced.

Amparito Iturbi's performance of Mozart's Sonata K. 333, on RCA Victor 78 rpm, is something completely and precisely achieved, and maintains an unfailing rhythmic coherence, in its small-scale, on-the-surface, prettifying style.

Hambro also plays Beethoven's fine early Sonata Opus 10 No. 3 very well, on another Allegro record (85), except for an *Andante* pace which deprives the *Adagio* movement of breadth. But his performance of Beethoven's Opus 101, on the reverse side, is inadequate. I once heard a painter speak of the importance of the spaces between the forms in a painting; and that statement came to mind as I listened to Hambro play the notes of the *Adagio* movement with no apparent awareness of the spaces between them that must contribute to their effect. The entire performance is no more than a clean playing of the notes.

In a number of Chopin's Mazurkas and Schumann's "Scenes from Childhood" on one Victor LP, and in Chopin's Sonata Opus 35 on another, Horowitz does the *affetuoso* teasing of music and piano that doesn't constitute performance of one or the other for me (the middle section of the Funeral March of Opus 35 he plays simply, but in an uninflected *pianissimo* throughout). Coupled with Opus 35 is Samuel Barber's Sonata Opus 26, which, to my ears, demonstrates Barber's ability to manipulate sounds in a modern idiom which say nothing (the first movement) or nothing of distinction or consequence (the slow movement and finale)—only the scherzo, in a more conventional idiom, being engaging.

Much of Schumann's "Carnaval" is acceptably played by Arrau on a Decca LP (DL-7502), but some of it with exaggerated capriciousness and *rubato* (e.g. in the *Chopin* episode). The dubbing from the original Parlophone 78 rpm records cuts off the beginning of one of the episodes (*Eusebius*, I believe), and occasionally reproduces a recurrent 78 swish; but with bass reduced the sound is good.

Stravinsky's Sonata and "Serenade en la" for piano, as played by his son Soulima on an Allegro LP (74), I find uninteresting.

Mr. Ernest B. Zeisler has written me that he often heard Godowsky, Carreño, and his mother Fannie Bloomfield-Zeisler and heard their Welte-Mignon recordings, which recently were rerecorded by Allegro; and that the unevennesses of tone and tempo heard on the Allegro record were caused by the use of a defective Welte-Mignon reproducing mechanism in the transfer. I must concede the possibility that Mr. Zeisler is right; but I must also say that since the playing of Godowsky reproduced by the Allegro record is exactly what I remember of Godowsky's living performances the presumption is that the reproduction of the Bloomfield-Zeisler performance is no less accurate, and that a defective Welte mechanism which played haltingly would not produce the identical extravagances of tempo and *rubato* in the first and last sections of Chopin's "Minute" Waltz.

A reader reports that the three recitals at Harvard in which Webster Aitken played Beethoven's last Sonatas, Bagatelles, and "Diabelli" Variations were "the musical high point of the last couple of years for me." Aitken is repeating the performances of the Sonatas and Bagatelles at the Frick Collection on January 21 and 28; and New Yorkers can hear them on the radio from WNYC.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Fiscal Follies

Dear Sirs: In cleaning out our woodbox to make room for the Yule log, I came upon a dust-covered copy of a newspaper patiently waiting to kindle a fire. Shaken free of wood dust, it turned out to be a copy of the Parisian Fair Deal daily *Franc-Tireur*, dated March 1, 1949. On one of the lead stories was a bold black banner, "France, Country of Fiscal Injustice," and a subhead, "172,688,333 holes through which our money pours." The story contained an exchange of correspondence between an office of internal revenue and a butcher, which in an Orwell novel would have seemed outrageously funny. It was outrageous, but not funny. The burden of it was that the tax-collectors were so wrapped in red tape and so hot in pursuit of butchers that they had no time to track down the big tax evaders.

According to an article in the June 9, 1950, issue of *United States News and World Report*, a wealthy Italian is obliged to file an income-tax return only once in his lifetime; after that he simply reports any changes in his income. The man may become a millionaire and still be registered as earning the salary he was making twenty years before. The wage-earner's income is reported by his employer; so he, unlucky fellow, cannot get out of paying it. Frenchmen are notorious for their distrust of banks and checks. Taxes, says this article, are too complicated for a Frenchman to even try to understand how they are computed. He inclines to skepticism about the government's whole method of computation, and is sure taxes are too high anyway. Reforms, this news weekly concludes, have been ordered by United States administrators.

The question should be put before the American people: why should their pockets be emptied and the whole productive mechanism of the country drained to provide the wherewithal in money, men, and arms to defend wealthy French and Italian tax evaders from the logical consequences of their own folly? Are we to be deprived of our freedoms, one by one, in order to defeat communism, and must we defend the right of others not to pay the taxes we are obliged to pay on their behalf?

The military budget of two billion francs voted by France at the end of December also raises the highly pertinent question: where is the money to come from? CARY DESBOROUGH

New York, December 30

"Luscious" Repudiated

Dear Sirs: In your issue of December 23, S. Lane Faison, the reviewer of the recent book on Renoir to which I contributed, takes exception to the word "luscious" and to "sentimental clichés like 'the essence of femininity,' 'the very spirit of childhood,' and several others," as applied to the work of the great artist. I too find them objectionable, but none of them is in my text, as I can say after a careful rereading of my pages. "Luscious" and the the rest are possibly to be found in the comments on the illustrations, but these, as the table of contents states, are the work of the editorial staff, of which I was obviously not a member. Moreover, the title page of the volume tells that I wrote only the introduction. It was doubtless through an oversight that I was blamed for words I did not write; none the less I think it only fair for you to correct the error.

WALTER PACH

New York, December 31

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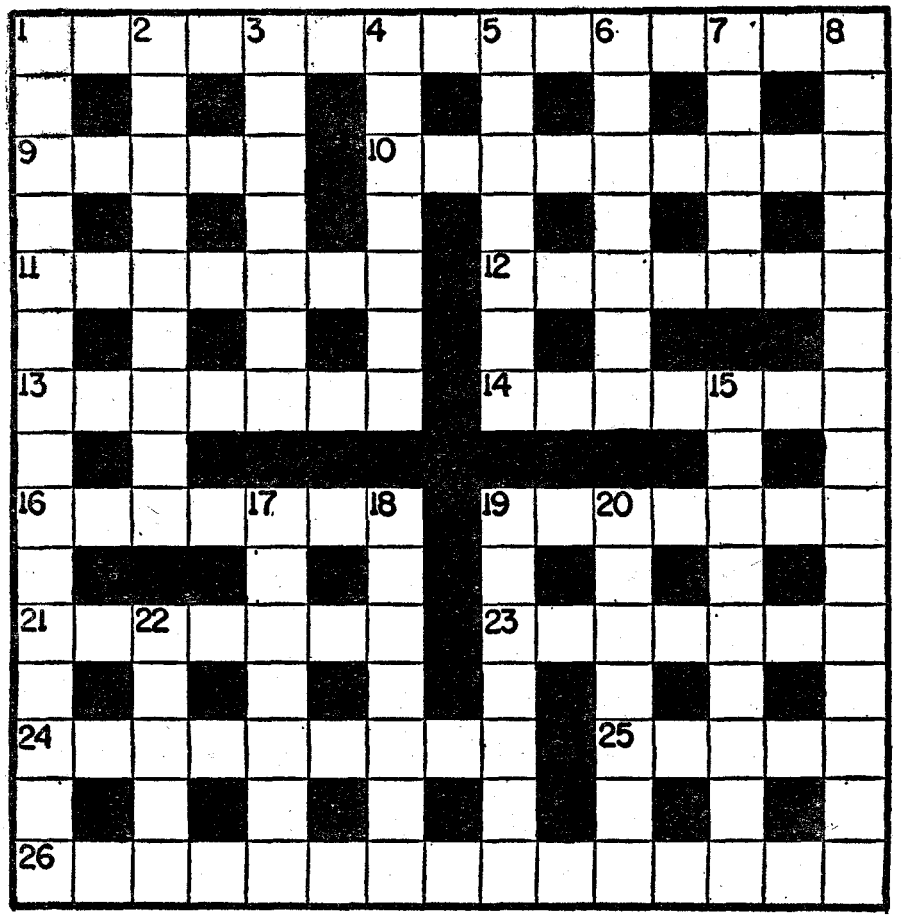
Crossword Puzzle No. 396

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Murder and treason! Sounds like the backing of illegal receivers! (7, 8)
9 Painter with lots of dash. (5)
10 See 24.
11 The lesson to be learned from the World Assembly? (7)
12 An itch I picked up in Italy. (7)
13 Involved in treeing one, for example. (7)
14 Put back a class? (7)
16 Any dark part of China. (7)
19 Apply to a painter for it. (7)
21 Stores in Kansas? (7)
23 Tender a match, for example. (7)
24 and 10. Implying the man from Tulsa is equivalent to the speculator. (3, 6, 3, 6)
25 Once a main disturbance. (5)
26 The chances are one to five that you'll lose, if you play it. (If you do, you've a hole in your head!) (7, 8)

DOWN

1 Middleman? (9, 6)
2 Fairy verse? (9)
3 What tar might be thrown in. (3, 4)
4 r? (7)
5 The dull might be by the sharper. (7)
6 Sublime Wagnerian star? (7)
7 It's easy to get a stain out of this material. (5)
8 This is where the trade comes in. (7, 8)
15 Apt to be brief. (9)
17 Valid independently of observation. (1, 6)
18 Accounts and art paper are. (5, 2)
19 Gulf, city, or maple. (7)
20 Limp, proverbially, like the little girl's playmate. (3, 4)
22 Looks like equals! (5)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 395

ACROSS:—11 SWINDLE; 12 KILKENNY; 13 TIARA; 15 and 1 MIGHT MAKES RIGHT; 17 OBJET D'ART; 19 EXORCISOR; 21 and 26 CACAO BEAN; 23 and 6 IN THE PINK; 24 MODISTES; 28 and 27 CHINESE LANTERN; 29 YARN; 30 WELLINGTON.

DOWN:—1 MOPE; 2 KIDDING; 3 SLICK; 4 INGENIOUS; 5 and 10 HASTY PUDDING; 7 INDIANA; 8 KNEE-ACTION; 9 DIETETIC; 14 IMPERIALLY; 16 TICKETED; 18 JURIDICAL; 20 OFTENER; 22 CLEMENT; 24 MANSE; 25 SCION.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

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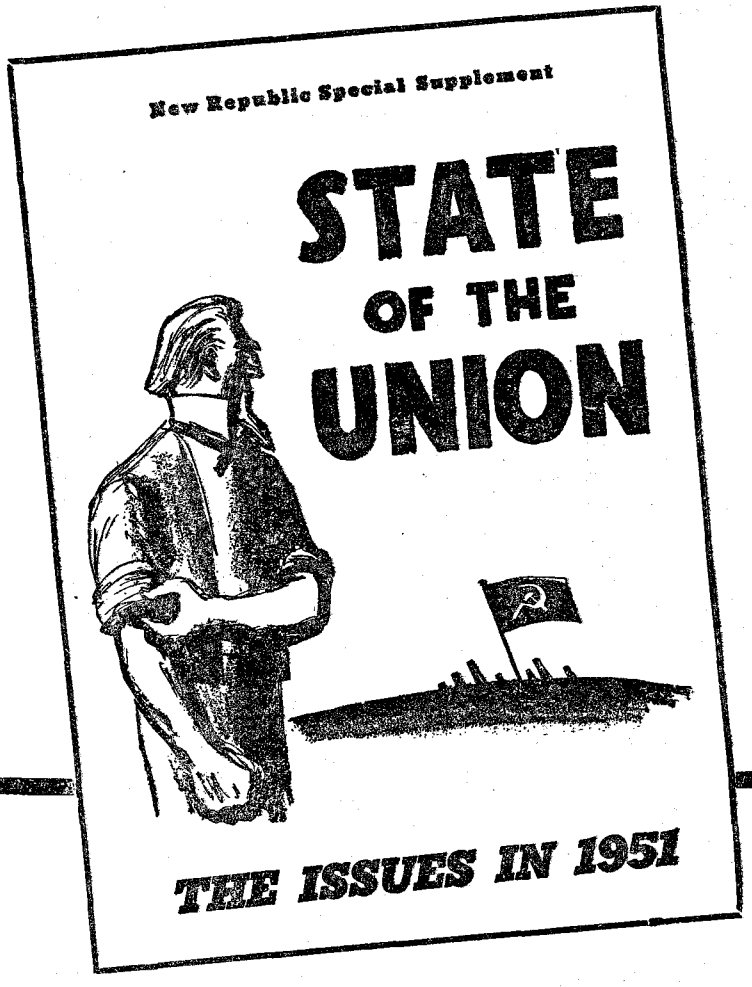

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